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Confederation of Tomorrow Conference
Nov. 1967 – Statements and Speeches
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GOVERNMENT OF QUÉBEC



PRELIMINARY

STATEMENT



"Confederation of Tomorrow"
Conference
Toronto, November 27-30, 1967



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INTRODUCTION

Our delegation is delighted to have this opportunity to set forth, before the representatives of the various governments gathered here, Quebec's objectives regarding the constitution she desires for the Canada of tomorrow.

Nor can she fail to acknowledge the great merit redounding to her sister province for having undertaken, at a most appropriate moment, to convene this conference whose historic import we fully appreciate, and which historians will record as a decisive step in our country's development.

We have prepared this document especially for our English-speaking fellow-countrymen and we should like them to study it with the same equanimity as we sought to attain in preparing it. For we are here to open a dialogue and we take it for granted that this conference is only the first of many. For us, it represents the initial stage in an exchange of views, an exchange for which the pressing need is now apparent and whose scope will be unprecedented.

The many difficulties along our road cannot serve as an excuse for refusing the challenge confronting us. And, at the present juncture, we do not believe we are really in any position to do anything but accept it.

- I -

STATEMENT OF THE ISSUE

If we are to determine as fittingly as possible what the "Confederation of Tomorrow" should be, we must first examine Canada as it is today.

An imperilled confederation

We are now living in a divided country searching for identity and racked by inner tensions.

Why is this so? Why, when a few short years ago most people did not have the slightest premonition of such a crisis, why are some of us now suddenly obliged to accept as a working hypothesis the hitherto unthinkable possibility of Canada's dissolution? What has taken place which can account for the astonishment in some circles, the dismay in others at such a development?

What has happened is that Québec, mainstay of French Canada, questioning the validity of the country's political structure, seeks a reallocation of powers between the two orders of government and concrete recognition for French Canada of rights equal to those always enjoyed by English-speaking Canada. Such aspirations, expressed more forcefully and consistently than ever before, first surprised English-speaking Canada and then produced opposition to what seemed a threat to the established order. In fact, we have reached the point where quite a few French-speaking Canadians believe that persistent misunderstanding makes any statement of their aspirations to English-speak-

ing citizens a waste of time. A considerable number among the latter, we realize, are satisfied with the present political system and hold that no concession should be made to the vague demands of what they believe to be a vociferous and extremist minority. Thus the two groups which a century ago established Canadian Confederation are becoming more firmly entrenched in their "two solitudes". More serious still, these two solitudes are increasingly out of touch with each other's reality; in the end, lack of co-operation between them can destroy Canada.

Québec's representatives at this conference are in an excellent position to assess the present state of mind among French-speaking Canadians living in Québec and to foresee where it may lead if our country's two main cultural groups do not soon reach an understanding to rebuild Canada on new foundations.

A century-old experience

French Canadians assume that the 1867 confederative act was designed to let them develop in accordance with their own culture.

One hundred years ago, the Fathers of Confederation entrusted to the provinces both those spheres of activity which, at the time, seemed properly to depend on local initiative and those which seemed essential to protect language, religion and culture.

Today, after a century's experience, French Canadians have become aware of three things. First of all, whenever members of their community living in provinces other than Québec have sought to obtain rights equal to those enjoyed by English-speaking Canadians, the 1867 constitution has proved impotent. Of course, neither English Canada's nor the French-Canadian nation's rights are expressly acknowledged in the constitution. Yet we might have expected French Canadians living outside Québec to have been treated

with more understanding and greater broad-mindedness. Unfortunately this did not happen and numerical superiority was often used to withhold from French-language minorities basic community rights essential to their survival and development. They were even stripped of rights they already had. Eventually, French Canadians were, to all intents and purposes, reduced to feeling truly at home only within Québec's borders, even though, despite everything, some French-speaking groups continue to survive in all provinces, especially in certain areas of Ontario, Atlantic Provinces and Manitoba.

The second thing French Canadians have noticed is that there has always been a clear tendency for the federal government to take over, partly or wholly, responsibilities assigned to the provinces in the 1867 constitution. In Quebecers' eyes, the constitutional or political justifications with which the central government has sought to explain its encroachments have often smacked of sophistry. Certainly no-one would say that during the last twenty-five or thirty years the federal government has acted against its will. All it needed as an excuse for action was inaction by some provinces. Provincial governments wanting to act on their own behalf then had to follow suit or lose major financial advantages. The story of joint programmes is a good case in point.

And thirdly, French-speaking Canadians realize that the 1867 division of responsibilities between governments no longer permits the French-Canadian nation to develop as effectively as it desires. During these last hundred years, the economic, social and administrative roles assigned to the public sector have grown enormously. State activities have become vastly more complex, and are sure to become more so as time goes on. Citizens are now directly affected by government action on a host of matters for which local and private initiative were formerly responsible. French-speaking Canadians feel that several such new realms of governmental intervention are, like education in 1867, vital instruments for their collective self-expression. They now want to keep control over these fields because, in the long run, not merely their full

development as a people but their very survival will depend on it.

An inevitable crisis

Quebecers have always known that if their enterprises are to attain success in Canada, they must exert themselves more than other Canadians, who have the dual advantage of numerical superiority and favouring Canadian economic and political institutions. But in addition, they now find their road to full self-achievement encumbered with fresh obstacles, including some which, under present conditions, seem more difficult to overcome than those they have met in the past. In general, during the last decade, not a minority but a majority of Quebecers have become aware that their situation is likely to grow worse if they do not act promptly to remedy it.

In sociological terms, Quebecers have witnessed the disintegration of the way of life which traditionally protected them. They had survived in good part because they lived in isolation, locked in upon themselves, clinging to the past in a typically rural environment where the state's presence was marginal. Almost overnight, they found themselves in an industrial society requiring massive intervention by the state, open to the whole of North America and exposed to the influence of foreign, especially American, culture, backed by such powerful means of communication as speedy transport, highways, cinema, radio and television.

In demographic terms, they have become aware that, even though they form some thirty per cent of Canada's population, they constitute a tiny group in comparison with the North American English-speaking community.

On the economic level, they have come to understand that the industrial society in which they

were henceforth to live had not been created by them, but by others not sharing their cultural values. And also that, in a world where economic might confers enough de facto advantages to make de jure claims unnecessary, they were - not always through their own fault - seriously lacking in means for effective action.

In political matters, as we have already said, they have realized that Canada's structure itself worked to their disadvantage and that the 1867 constitution was far from giving them the protection they had traditionally anticipated.

Taking all this into account, it is incontrovertibly evident that our nation no longer has a choice. If it passively accepts the present situation, it will inevitably take the road to slow but sure assimilation into the great North-American mass.

Hence, it has become vital that it do everything in its power to correct the present situation.

As French-speaking Canadians, we have the unshakeable conviction that we form a viable community sharing one of the greatest cultures in the western world, speaking an international language and endowed with vast human potentialities. That is why, despite all difficulties, we are resolved to preserve our identity. But there is more than this. The very act of asserting ourselves as a nation will certainly help greatly in giving Canada the identity she needs to distinguish herself from her powerful neighbour to the south. Moreover, we are convinced that, in future, nations like ours will have a role to play out of all proportion to their demographic strength. In short, we are willing to gamble on our possibilities as a people and want to act accordingly.

Several obstacles we now face as a nation can be overcome by our own efforts and by Québec

Government action. But there are other aspects of this problem for which we alone cannot find a solution. We know that it can be solved if English Canada makes a serious effort. Up to a point, this community will have to alter its traditional approach to relations between our two linguistic groups. It will also have to abstain from opposition to substantial change in the country's political structure and in the present division of powers between the Canadian and Québec governments.

What we in Québec have become accustomed to call the Canadian constitutional problem is thus not wholly juridical in nature. We are dealing with a basically political and social problem, one of whose causes stems from the present constitution.

An impotent constitution

A country's constitution is its fundamental law. To some extent, it lays down the rules of the game. In doubtful cases, appeal should be had to it, and it should be interpreted by appropriate tribunals. Governments under its sway must conform to it. Therefore, it is essential that a constitution properly reflect sociological reality in the country to which it applies and truly derive from the aims and aspirations of the human communities making up that country.

Does the 1867 British North America Act, even as interpreted and amended since its passage, meet these requirements, which are certainly not unreasonable for so obviously important a document as a constitution? To ask the question is already to suggest the answer, which is a forthright negative. The 1867 constitution no longer in any sense conforms to present Canadian reality. We shall not undertake here any juridical analysis or study in semantics. We shall merely point out specific characteristics of today's Canada and her problems, then try to see how closely the pre-

sent constitution does reflect these characteristics and whether it can contribute to solving new problems as they arise. The conclusions will be self-evident.

(1) In Canada there exists a French-Canadian nation of which the mainstay is Québec. It can likewise be said that there exists an English-speaking nation, although its cohesion and self-awareness may, for understandable reasons, be less apparent than they are among French Canadians. Each of these two nations must have its fundamental right to full development recognized by the other, in law and in fact, if we want Canada to be able to operate as a policial entity and advance as an economic entity. The most serious Canadian problem today is precisely that of the relation which should obtain between these two communities. Here the present constitution offers no guidance, since it wholly ignores this essential aspect of Canadian reality. Our constitution does not recognise the existence in our country of sociological groups called "nations", "nationalities" or "societies". Even though it refers to some individual religious rights and regulates the use of the English and French languages in a few federal and Québec public bodies, it provides no specific rights for the communities which speak those languages.

(2) Canada now comprises ten provinces, no one like any other in people, size, climate, problems or resources. Logically, it would not seem desirable to formulate policies conceived as though all the country's provinces had been cast in the same mould. Yet except for a few provisions of secondary importance - accidental or transitory - our constitution in principle now keeps all provinces on the same footing. It provides no opportunity for special federal-provincial arrangements adapted to conditions in a given province. In practice, these special arrangements can be effected but, whatever the intention may be, they cannot help appearing exceptional or temporary. In short, our constitution makes some allowance for special situations existing when a given province entered confederation; but, divorced from day-to-day reality, it does not allow for continuance and even intensification of differences between provinces once they became members of confederation.

(3) Because of changes in the technical and social order, Canada today is faced with a whole series of problems which the Fathers of Confederation, however vivid their imagination, could not conceivably have foreseen. Consider, for instance, town-planning policy, regional development, economic stability, telecommunications, atomic energy, the space age, manpower policies, educational television and many other contemporary developments. Our constitution is silent on these matters. Therefore, when a new problem arises in Canada, we are more and more likely to base each government's responsibilities for it, not on constitutional principles, but on considerations of the moment which, in turn, derive from a variety of factors such as relative capacity to act, financial resources or merely the political power wielded by a given area of government. Hence, even though there is a written document called the British North America Act from which we may expect some light to be cast on such traditional fields as education and municipal institutions, the allocation of new tasks among governments has not been guided by this document but by decisions mainly based on exigencies of the day. In some instances, the old constitution has been amended to furnish grounds for action that was predetermined in any case. In others, the method used was to imagine the opinions Fathers of Confederation would have held. Whether or not the provinces have participated in reaching such decisions, it is still true that our present constitution, perhaps admirable during the age of steam trains, no longer suits Canada's needs in this era of interplanetary rockets.

(4) In addition, the modern world has stimulated more frequent and continuing relations between nations, groups and regions. This is as true at the Canadian as at the international level. Within Canada, developments in recent years have led governments to have increasing recourse to federal-provincial or interprovincial conferences to settle problems as they arose. Such meetings have become a necessity. It is hard to imagine how Canada could function efficiently today were not the representatives of the various governments to gather at more or less regular intervals to discuss among themselves policies to be followed. For the moment we do not intend to say how we believe these conferences should be prepared and

managed; the fact remains that so essential a means for co-ordination and consultation is not even mentioned in the country's present constitution. Hence, intergovernmental meetings in Canada result far more from political, financial or administrative accidents than from rational and formal machinery for reciprocal consultation. In theory, nothing prevents their being eliminated at any time, even if such a turn of events is at present unlikely. It is also significant that a good many of these conferences are now made necessary by the ill-defined division of powers between the country's governments. So we are faced with a constitution which, over the years, has become vacuous whenever there is need to allocate public responsibilities whose very existence could not be foreseen in 1867, a constitution, moreover, including no clear provision or procedure for implementing the intergovernmental co-ordination often made necessary by its own omissions.

(5) In international affairs, the situation created by the present constitution is equally confused. Practice established during the past half century, and not any constitutional text, gives the federal government responsibility for what we call foreign policy. Yet nowhere is this defined. Nor does the constitution say anything about the bonds of every kind which, more tightly and in increasing number, link modern nations in fields almost all of which it reserves to the provinces. As a result, efforts to resolve any differences which may arise today between governmental sectors over relations they may or may not have with foreign countries or organizations are based on more or less acrobatic interpretations of the constitution or of constitutional practice.

(6) Nothing in our constitution clearly provides for settling such disagreements, whether they relate to international relations, culture, manpower or the administration of justice. In several essential matters, there is not even provision in the constitution for amending it. Until now, every attempt to reach an acceptable amending formula has been based on an inaccurate interpretation of Canadian society.

To our minds, these few examples consti-

tute sufficiently obvious evidence of the rift between our constitution and the reality to which it supposedly applies. If to this be added the fact that no clear-cut rule, still valid today, governs the sharing of tax resources among Canadian governments, the only straightforward conclusion to be drawn, in own view, is that our country's fundamental law not only has a superannuated look, but is in fact a compilation of various unrelated customs, conventions and juridical documents and no longer fits the needs of modern government for the aspirations of the French-Canadian nation.

Alarming empiricism

Some people have claimed that the present constitution has been flexible enough to adjust to the changing conditions which marked the last few generations and that it did not prevent us from finding workable solutions to several federal-provincial problems in recent years. We feel that such arguments are invalid on two counts.

First, the constitution has never been instrumental in settling federal-provincial disagreements. When we did work out temporary or permanent compromises, especially for Québec, they came as a result of intergovernmental discussions which at times had every aspect of open warfare. Indeed, it was lack of an explicit constitution, complicated by basic political factors, that led to these clashes, costing both sides much wasted energy and creating misunderstandings which have yet to be cleared. Surely, in a country such as ours, there must be a better way of reaching an effective and lasting solution to difficulties attending allocation of responsibilities and distribution of the resources needed to carry them out. At any rate, we in Québec are probably most directly concerned and we do not see why negotiations between governments in Canada should always take place in such an atmosphere of conflict.

Second, the French-Canadian nation considers the present constitution no longer capable of

providing the guarantees that should properly be expected from it. It is no secret that, even if our constitution is always subject to interpretation whenever new problems spring up, both the interpretation and resulting practical arrangements usually favour the government sector whose political position is stronger; at times, this may be the federal government, at others, the provincial governments. Nothing in Canada today indicates which way the scale will tip in future. In a country with a single society, such a situation would at worst create administrative complications or regional uneasiness; in ours, it spells a lasting threat to the French-Canadian community and, with time, creates unbearable conditions. French Canada is quite prepared to take up the awesome cultural challenge it faces on the North-American continent, but cannot be reconciled to the prospect of fruitless struggles in its own country, caused by its permanently unsettled situation.

Levelling criticism at a constitution because it is inexplicit or behind the times does not necessarily mean that the critic wants an inflexible replacement. We would readily agree that, however well drafted, a constitution cannot possibly contain answers to all problems.

True, constitutional problems seldom seem to take priority; but when they do, particularly in a federal system, political rather than legal implications become the issue. It seems to us that we are indeed going through one of those rare phases when, owing to their direct repercussion on the citizen's daily life, questions related to our country's constitution - therefore our political institutions - take precedence. We must tackle them at the earliest opportunity, lest conditions grow worse, and so that we may concentrate our efforts on the solution of other urgent problems.

The Canadian duality

The two languages widely spoken in our land, English and French, are both international languages. Those who speak French live mostly in one part of Canada, Québec, where they constitute the great majority of the population.

Being the first Europeans to settle in this country, they are convinced that they form a nation in the sociological sense of the world. They have their own government, public and private economic, financial and administrative and cultural institutions. In short, they have a civilization of their own.

Because she also happens to be the home of an English-speaking society with a culture of its own, Canada is thus a binational country. Indeed, it is one or other of these two nations or cultural communities which have been joined by those of various origins whose arrival has enriched Canada since the beginning of the century.

In its relationship with the rest of the country, Québec, as the mainstay and homeland of French Canada, is confronted by two kinds of problems which are not easily differentiated because in practice they often overlap.

When we consider for instance highway construction, some financial arrangements between governments, sales tax collection, measures designed to reduce water pollution, there are a host of questions where all provinces, Québec included, meet on common ground.

But when we come to socio-cultural problems, Québec's position is altogether different from that of the other provinces. We have in mind not only education, culture and language, but also social security, health, municipal institutions, certain credit establishments, regional development, adult training, manpower policies, cultural exchanges with other countries or, to put it briefly, everything that may be used as instrument for French-Canada's assertion and promotion of her economic, social and political institutions.

A new covenant

What then must be done to pave the way for the Canada of tomorrow is to lay the foundation of a covenant without which we shall continue to live in confusion, victims of contradictions arising daily between our anachronistic constitution and Canadian reality.

The last half of this statement contains certain proposals in this respect for purposes of discussion.

- II -

THE CANADA OF TOMORROW

If Canada of Tomorrow is to endure, it must rest on a new constitution that, as now, must group within the country a certain number of territories, which may be called provinces or states. More important however, it must also permit association by two societies co-operating within common institutions as well as respect for the basic collective rights and legitimate aspirations of each.

In the following paragraphs, rather than submit the draft of a new constitution in legal form, we shall elaborate briefly on issues which we feel should be the object of constitutional provisions. In each instance, we shall formulate opinions on which we would heartily welcome open discussion; we would like to know what English-speaking Canadians think of them, for what really matters - and such is the immediate purpose of our meeting - is that we get our heads together in order to examine the broad elements of the problem, without embarking on discussion of details. Besides, the Government of Québec will have to weigh the implications of positions taken by the Estates General of French Canada and study the report prepared by our Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution. Naturally, we are also awaiting the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

We feel that the new constitution should be aimed at four goals:

(1) defining clearly the principles that are to guide Canadian political life;

- (2) working out a new distribution of powers and resources to promote development of the French-Canadian nation and free evolution of English-speaking Canada;
- (3) institutionalizing or establishing certain machinery for intergovernmental consultation, co-ordination and action;
- (4) modifying the operation of some Canadian organizations and institutions, modernizing others and creating new ones so that, as a whole, they may reflect Canada's binational identity.

Fundamental principles

A constitution is much more than a legal document; it is a guide and a source of inspiration. Objectives shared by all citizens must be embodied in the fundamental principles on which it rests as well as the ties which bind together nations, communities, groups and individuals of different language, history and culture.

With these considerations in mind, we believe that the constitution should begin by proclaiming Canada's absolute sovereignty.

The constitution should also acknowledge the existence in Canada of two nations, bound together by history, each enjoying equal collective rights. The new constitution must clearly spell out the principle that English and French are the country's two official languages.

The constitution must include a charter of human rights applying to the central government's constitutional jurisdictions. As for us, the Québec Government intends to insert in Québec's constitution a charter of human rights covering matters under provincial control.

Finally, a provision must sanction the principle of economic interdependence, mutual support and co-operation between states or province, with every regard for the country's binational character.

As for Québec's internal constitution, it must naturally fall under its own exclusive jurisdiction.

Distribution of powers

The division of powers between central government and member-states remains the keystone of any federal constitution. To make headway, we submit certain proposals.

We believe that, as is the case in most other federations, provinces or member-states of Canada must retain all powers not expressly granted to the central government. In this way, we should have a better idea where the latter's jurisdiction begins or ends, and friction caused by encroachment from the centre would be greatly reduced.

Needless to say, we want to have reserve and disallowance powers eliminated from federal prerogatives and the Parliament of Canada divested of its declaratory power. Perhaps these provisions had some justification in earlier days, but we think that today, in matters within their jurisdiction, the provinces must be given complete internal sovereignty.

Other Québec positions have already been made known. Thus, in the brief submitted in September 1966 to the fourth meeting of the federal-provincial Tax Structure Committee, we stated: "As the mainstay of a nation, it wants free rein to

make its own decisions affecting the growth of its citizens as human beings (i.e., education, social security and health in all respects), their economic development, (i.e., the forging of any economic and financial tool deemed necessary), their cultural fulfilment (which takes in not only arts and literature, but the French language as well), and the presence abroad of the Québec community (i.e., relations with certain countries and international organizations)."

Further in the brief, we stated that, while awaiting a new constitution, we would first have to proceed with a re-arrangement of functions, which might even be initiated within the framework of our present constitution: "By this process, the Québec Government would gradually become solely responsible within its territory for all public expenditures on every form of education, old age security, family allowances, health, employment and training of the labour force, regional development and, in particular, municipal aid programmes, research, fine arts, culture, as well as any other social or cultural service within our jurisdiction under the present constitution. Existing federal programmes in these fields would be taken over by Québec, which would maintain their portability where applicable."

It is not our place to tell the other provinces how powers in the Confederation of Tomorrow should be divided between them and the federal government. We merely wish to make a few comments which may be pertinent.

We have just outlined the Québec Government's general objective. To reach it, Québec will necessarily have to obtain a new constitutional distribution of tasks giving her broader powers than she now exercises. We feel these broader powers are vital to Québec, but this does not mean that we in any way object to the other provinces seeking exactly the same powers if they so desire.

If in fact they are willing to assume the same tasks as Québec, it is quite conceivable to envisage a new constitution which would confirm much greater decentralization of powers to all provinces than now exists.

Naturally, we realize that other provinces may be prepared to entrust the central government with some powers which Québec believes she must herself exercise. In our view, such an arrangement is not incompatible with federalism and solutions of this kind should be used without hesitation whenever sociological conditions in the country make them necessary. In this case, all provinces would, at the outset, be granted identical constitutional powers, provided that constitutional provision would make possible administrative or legislative delegation to the federal government. This way, the provinces themselves would decide the actual extent of their responsibilities under the new system.

Not wanting to prejudge their attitude on this matter, we thought it might be helpful to open the dialogue by stating some our own positions, for later comparison with theirs.

Intergovernmental co-operation

If it is important to establish clearly the responsibilities of each area of government, it is equally essential to indicate here the methods of co-operation which should exist between each. The modern world no longer tolerates impassable barriers between governments, any more than it permits attributing any particular problem to a single cause. Québec is fully aware of this fact; she feels she must increase her jurisdictional range in the Canada of tomorrow, not in order to isolate herself, but rather to be in a better position to bring her own contribution to

collective wealth through interdependence. Each government must be concerned with the impact of its actions on other governments.

Thus, even though the federal government has jurisdiction over currency, it must always reckon with the fact that monetary policy has concrete repercussions on other governments' action. Similarly, nobody will deny the provinces' exclusive responsibility for municipal affairs, but does this mean that their activities in this field have no effect on decisions required of the federal government in others? Not at all. And certainly the influence which provinces exert on one another is often apparent, even if each merely acts within the limits of its own jurisdiction.

As far as we are concerned, we prefer to establish a clear division between governmental responsibilities, then provide machinery for intergovernmental co-operation.

Above all, it is our feeling that we should institutionalize federal-provincial and interprovincial conferences. Of course, the constitution could not fix the frequency or agendas of such meetings. That would be unrealistic. It would probably be sufficient to stipulate the right of any government to take the initiative for convening such conferences.

Similarly, we should provide for the existence of well defined machinery for intergovernmental consultation and co-operation on economic policy. Here again, it would not be necessary to enter into details, but merely to express juridically the practical consequences of our incontestable economic interdependence. Economic policies in Canada cannot and must not depend exclusively on one government, in this instance federal. The provinces have and will continue to have a major interest in this field. There can be no question of excluding them from formulating and implementing various economic policies, particularly fiscal policies, if only because of the size of their own budgets and their influence on the economy. In any case, Québec cannot agree to stay out of the economic policy field for that would be tantamount to allowing another government to decide the course of her whole economy.

Fiscal matters, and more specifically fiscal arrangements are not on the agenda of this conference, in accordance with the wishes of the Ontario Government which convened it. It is obvious that in the context of a new constitution to exclusive jurisdictions must correspond exclusive or paramount fiscal powers.

Further, in order to ensure the right of each citizen to comparable services, wherever he may live in Canada, the mechanisms of fiscal arrangements should be improved and, if necessary, institutionalized.

It is also our impression that we would have everything to gain by setting up a permanent inter-provincial secretariat which, among other functions, would help keep provincial governments better informed on one another's legislation, administrative reforms, problems as well as the solutions adopted, policies and other matters. In addition, such a secretariat would permit more thorough preparation for interprovincial meetings of cabinet ministers and civil servants.

Canadian institutions

Whatever their immediate functions, it seems essential to us that federal institutions in the Canada of tomorrow take clear count, in their structure and aims, of the country's binational character. We want to express a few thoughts on the subject, in spite of the fact that this meeting is not a federal-provincial conference.

Steps should first be taken, by required means, to ensure genuine, effective and proportionate participation in the federal public service by French-speaking Canadians. There have been recent improvements in this respect, but this movement should be stepped up; above all, definite mechanisms should be provided to translate it rapidly into fact. In addition, it is vital that French become a current working language within all administrative services directly or indirectly dependent on the federal government, both in Ottawa and in areas with a French-language population. The same should be done in the Armed Forces.

We also think the federal capital should reflect the linguistic duality of the population. Equality of the two official languages should be confirmed in all capital area government services, be they federal, provincial or municipal. To this end, the purely federal

"National Capital Commission" should become a tripartite "Federal Capital Commission" in which the three governments most directly concerned, those of Canada, Ontario and Québec, would have equal prerogatives, each delegating to it the powers needed to administer an appropriate territorial area and assuming a proportionate share of its operating costs.

We further think it advisable to create a genuine constitutional tribunal whose composition would reflect the federal character of our institutions and the Canadian cultural duality.

We believe, also, that it would be advantageous to investigate the possibility of transforming the current Senate into a true federal House having a bicultural character.

Finally, we believe that establishment of a permanent federal-provincial commission on linguistic rights would do a good deal to ensure the recognition, in practice, by all governments concerned, of the equal rights of our two communities in this respect. Citizens and corporate bodies who felt their linguistic rights had been prejudiced would be entitled to lodge grievances or complaints with the commission. This advisory institution should in no way limit the competence of the constitutional tribunal with respect to language rights.

Of course, there are many things we might add concerning changes we think necessary in other Canadian institutions, such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board, etc.

The language question and French-Canadian minorities

In concluding, it is important to draw very special attention to one of the major Canadian problems of the day: the status of French in Canada. We have already touched several times on this question, which we consider basic.

The Québec Government is committed to making French a true national language in Québec, while respecting the linguistic rights of the minority. We are currently studying various means of promoting generalized use of French throughout our territory, so that French-Canadian Quebecers in their home province may live and work in their mother tongue, just as English-speaking Canadians live and work in their own language in the other provinces.

But this will not solve the whole problem. Essentially, what French Canadians want is to be themselves and develop normally like any other people; in Québec and in other parts of Canada. More particularly, they want to create in Québec an environment conducive to their own growth. They also want it to be possible for members of their community settled in other provinces to develop as English-speaking Canadians can do in Québec.

In a country like ours, we must begin by ensuring public education at all levels in Canada's two official languages wherever the English or French-speaking group is sufficiently large. Obviously, this does not rule out the necessity of providing the French or English-speaking groups with means of acquiring good command of the majority language in their environment. As for other government services such as departments, courts, administrative bodies, we believe the best way to avoid problems and render justice to the greatest number of people concerned is to deal with the question on a regional basis, without regard to provincial boundaries.

We expect to continue the dialogue initiated here at subsequent meetings.

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(Translated from the French)

27577
STATEMENT BY THE HONOURABLE JOHN P. ROBARTS
PRIME MINISTER OF ONTARIO
TO THE

CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE
TORONTO, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27TH, 1967



This is an historic occasion. Not since the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences of 1864 and 1866 have the political leaders of Canada met in such numbers to discuss in all its ramifications the future of Canada. I welcome most warmly to this 1967 Confederation of Tomorrow Conference my fellow Premiers, their delegations, the many distinguished observers, and, via the press, radio and television, the people of Canada.

Although there are many reasons for this gathering, one is fundamental to all the rest: we are concerned about the future of our country. As the one who called this Conference and as your host it is perhaps only proper that

I dwell for a moment on what led us to the idea of the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference, what I believe its purpose is, and what I hope it will accomplish.

For a number of years we have been aware of and concerned about the developing tensions within Canada and, more particularly, about the direction in which we were headed. It seemed to us that not only were we tending to ignore the implications of the cultural complexity of this country, but we were also making a series of decisions that subtly, but nonetheless forcibly, were changing the political and economic character of Canada. I refer to decisions which were largely of a fiscal nature and were being made, not in the democratic glare of our legislatures, but in the closed-door sessions of many federal-provincial conferences. These decisions were often in response to short-term, specific problems rather than the result of a set of commonly agreed

principles and a knowledge of clearly defined purposes.

I would not for one moment suggest that we alone were observant of these tendencies or aware of their potential dangers. I know that most of you here today, as well as many other Canadians, have become similarly concerned. I can say only that these trends preoccupied our thoughts to the point where we felt some initiative, some action, had to be taken.

In January of 1965 we began by appointing the Ontario Advisory Committee on Confederation. The prime object of this Committee is to advise the Government of Ontario on the problems pertinent to Confederation. This group, comprised mainly of well-known scholars in Ontario, has been of inestimable value to the Government. No doubt the best testament I can offer to its work is not by my words, but in their deeds. As delegates, many of you are

now familiar with the single-volume edition of the Committee's Background Papers and Reports which was recently sent to you.

Following the establishment of this Committee, we created within the Ontario civil service a Federal-Provincial Affairs Secretariat. The Secretariat has assisted the Advisory Committee, prepared much of the background work on the agenda, and contributed to the theme papers for the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference. These documents were sent to you in recent weeks.

Having taken these steps within the Government, we decided, in October of 1966, during a federal-provincial conference, to put forward for the first time the idea of this Conference. On that occasion, the suggestion seemed to meet with general approval. Later, in November of 1966, I again made reference to this idea in a speech in Montreal. In January of 1967 the suggestion was made more specific in

the Throne Speech delivered in the Legislature of the Province of Ontario. And last May, I sought and secured approval of the proposal from the Ontario Legislature. Since that time I have met with my fellow Premiers on several occasions and discussed the Conference with them. At meetings in Ottawa in July and in Fredericton in August, we discussed plans for the Conference. In recent months our officials have had many conversations about the Conference. These, then, were the events which led to our meeting here today.

What do we see as the nature of this Conference? What do we hope it will accomplish?

First, I look upon our Centennial Year of 1967 as a fitting point in our history in which to launch a thorough re-examination of Confederation. I am confident this Conference will assess the wider aims of our decision one hundred years ago to live together. I am confident it will give us some

indication of the direction in which we can mutually agree to proceed. Above all, it will provide us with a fresh sense of nationhood, of will and determination to continue together in our second century that which we began so magnificently in our first.

Second, and I want to place special emphasis on this point, I see this Conference as but the first of a series of meetings. I have never believed or hoped or expected that in these few days we would solve our enormously complex problems. Indeed, to my mind, the purpose of the Conference is to provide a forum for discussions, to voice with clarity our shared aims and our differences, to give perspective to our often blurred and rancorous debate, and to do all this openly and before the people of this country. This Conference will not determine our fate, but it could, and I hope will, give all Canadians a fresh understanding of the direction in which we should be going and of what we can become.

Third, I hope very much that we shall all participate in these discussions as equal partners. We represent our individual provinces and despite our disparity in size we meet as ten equal entities: equal in the opportunity to contribute our views to the future design of our country. In the next few days, I hope each of us will join the discussion on that basis.

Finally, I hope that at this Conference we shall confront squarely and discuss with candour and vigour the many issues that are before us. I shall not comment in detail on the full, informal and now familiar agenda. It is intended to serve merely as a guide to our discussions. In our pre-Conference meetings we have had many useful and constructive preliminary talks about the various matters we shall now be exploring around this table. I shall only say that we agreed not to allow ourselves to become embroiled too deeply in the

subjects of fiscal arrangements and specific constitutional changes. We are here to determine the measure of our consensus and the range of our differences. At subsequent meetings I would hope that we can enter into a more detailed discussion of specific issues. But first we must take stock of our views and assess the priorities of our future meetings.

I have said that this Conference could serve the supremely useful purpose of commencing a constructive dialogue. If we are successful in this objective, we can be satisfied that these few days will have been exceedingly worthwhile. To everything there must be a beginning and thus it is today.

You may be wondering about the seating arrangement in this semi-circle. I can assure you it is based on neither historic nor geographic considerations. Rather it is designed to provide complete equality of opportunity to participate in the discussions, to hear and be heard, to see and be seen,

and to accommodate in the most efficient manner the members of each delegation. In attempting to use to the fullest the space available, we have arranged to accommodate all official delegates behind the semi-circle of chairs occupied by the leaders of each delegation. Immediately in front of us are spaces for those who are accredited to the Conference as official observers. And beyond them is space for well over one hundred members of the press, radio and television.

Our procedures will, I hope, be characterized by a minimum of formality. There will be no fixed order of speaking and as your Chairman it is my hope and will be my endeavour to ensure that everyone has an equal opportunity to participate in the discussion to the full extent that he may deem necessary to express his point of view. I would suggest that it is not necessary for any leader of a delegation to stand when speaking. If any delegation leader wants any other member of his delegation to address the Conference, then

such member can speak from the lectern which stands to the right of this semi-circle.

May I now make some comments in my capacity as leader of the Ontario delegation. In an introductory fashion, I should like to put forward some of the views held by the Government of Ontario on the concerns that have brought us to this Conference.

Let me begin by making a deceptively simple statement. To some of you it may be patently obvious. It is this: Canada is a federal state, not a unitary state. Simple though it may be, this fact cannot be overemphasized and bears constant repetition. Its implications are profound.

First and foremost, the fact that Canada is a federal and not a unitary state means that the provinces were created, and exist, in recognition of regional differences. I cannot emphasize this point too strongly. The existence of our internal differences is not a fact merely to be tolerated

or, even worse, discouraged. It is a fact which must be accepted as a fundamental condition of our will and agreement to live together. Once and for all, let us cast aside the notion that the regions and the governments of the provinces of Canada are in some way a nuisance and an impediment. To my mind, there can be no more tragic misreading of the nature of Canada. Our triumph, our singular achievement, is that we exist in spite of our differences.

A second, important implication of our federal nature is that there is only one government in Canada which can represent the interests of all Canadians. We have recognized this from our birth as a national entity in 1867 by placing the federal government at the pinnacle of our political structure. We in Ontario have no intention of undermining the place of primacy of the federal government.

Indeed, we remain deeply committed to the maintenance of that place of primacy. It is our conviction that, in its fullest and wisest expression, it is the binding force which ensures the continued existence of the country we are proud to call Canada.

Having drawn these two crucial implications from the federal fact of Canada, let me now make a number of other observations, the underlying principles of which are subscribed to by the Government of Ontario.

The first of these is almost trite in its expression, but nonetheless I believe it is basic to an understanding of our current situation. We live in a time of unprecedented change, and it is this fact which we all must be educated to accept. To a young and maturing country such as ours, coping with change is crucial. Whether we like all the changes

swirling around us or not, we cannot escape the fact of their presence. Will change move us? Or will we meet it, and influence it, and have it move with us? Do we control change by moulding our practices and institutions or does change control us? This is the issue and this, I submit, is why we are here today: to recognize change and approach it rationally.

The singular importance which we attach to the fact of change, and to the necessity of our willingness to comprehend that fact, lies in our belief that too often we have ignored change and too readily and uncritically we have tended to simply continue as in the past. We must avoid the oft-portrayed stance of the ostrich. We must be prepared to accept needed reform. As once was said: "A state without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation". Does this not apply to us in Canada in 1967? I think it does.

And while I possess no crystal ball, while I am uncertain about the directions in which Canadians will choose to proceed, and while I have little precise idea of the shape of our country even ten years from now, as sure as I am sitting here, I know that the Canada of a decade or so ago is gone forever. That is what I mean by change.

This first observation about change leads me directly to a second. Two great and pressing issues confront Canadians now. One is the place of French Canada in Canadian society - and by French Canada I mean French-speaking Canadians across the country and not only those of Quebec. The other is the nature of the relationship between the federal government and the provincial governments. Let me suggest some ideas we have been developing on these two major concerns which so persistently occupy and exercise our attention.

I have placed special emphasis on the great achievement represented by the fact that Canada exists, in spite of the diversity of its parts. This same diversity is a strength in itself. But no problem is as urgent or compelling as that of appreciating the historic existence within our country of a relatively concentrated people whose working language is not that of the vast majority of their fellow citizens. Can Canada accommodate and be enriched by these two main streams of our heritage? My answer is a resounding 'yes'. Still further, my answer is that it must, because the solution to this issue is the prerequisite to our survival as a country.

To say that we are a country of two societies is not to deny the multicultural nature of Canada which is nowhere more in evidence than in Ontario. It is to say that

while one of our two societies has a common cultural and linguistic tradition, the English-speaking society in Canada is a product of many cultures and is enriched by each.

I cannot speak for any region or part of Canada other than my own. I can only implore all Canadians to recognize the complex traditions of their land and to respond with deep sympathy and understanding to the problems these traditions impose on them. We in Ontario are prepared to match our words with deeds. And we are, indeed, in the process of meeting, wherever possible and practicable, the expressed and real needs of the Franco-Ontarians. We are seriously examining a variety of techniques which will accomplish this purpose as efficaciously as possible. I am sure that we can meet the requirements of symbolism and practicality. In the abiding love and faith we have in Canada, we can do no less.

The second major concern I see is the relationship of the provinces to the federal government. Let me preface my remarks here by saying that my thoughts on this issue are intimately related to the matters I have raised in the preceding parts of this statement, that is, the place of the provinces and the federal government in Canada, the theme of change, and the accommodation of our twin heritage in one country.

These factors point to one overriding condition of Canadian federalism: to work, it must be flexible. To achieve this flexibility, all governments, federal as well as provincial, must agree on what constitutes Canada and then attempt to work out a system of intergovernmental relations which best fits the requirements and obligations of each. I think it is clear that among the provinces there will be a

variety of opinions about their most desirable individual relationships with the federal government. The question is whether it is possible to accommodate these differences within our federal system and, if so, to what degree this should be carried out.

The concept, if not the term, of "special status" is as old as Confederation. Whatever form fiscal subsidies have taken, they have been granted at one time or another to each of the regions of Canada. Their existence today testifies to the fact that they are an accepted feature of our federal system. This system is flexible because of the different needs of regions across Canada. And because these differences exist, there must perforce be special problems and special requirements of each region each necessitating special treatment. Whenever a new province has joined Confederation, its terms of admission have contained special provisions different from earlier

situations. My reason for paying special attention to this issue is that I want to place the concept of special status in a different perspective. I am aware that this concept has taken on a different meaning in recent years in the debate which has been taking place in the province of Quebec. Part, though by no means all, of the reasons why we are here is to reflect calmly on this source of tension in our country. I hope by the end of this Conference that we shall all have a better appreciation and more knowledgeable perspective about this tension than has generally been the case to date. We are accustomed in Canada to special arrangements for individual provinces and regions. In principle, therefore, the term "special status" does not alarm us. To us the concept should mean a profound awareness that Canada is a country of disparate parts each with its own combination of preferences and needs.

The risk in any concept of special status is that it could be carried to a point where it could destroy the federal government and the means of keeping the country together. Somehow, in our search and deep desire for national survival, we must come to grips with the issue of accommodating our differences while, at the same time, preserving our national distinctiveness.

We have suggested that perhaps a way out of our dilemma is to determine first what must be the inviolable powers of our federal government. This is a logical starting point to a careful review of the division of powers in our system with a view to clarifying it and bringing it more into line with current and future requirements. In such an exercise, we must bear constantly in mind the interdependence of all governments in the country and the necessity of improving our machinery for intergovernment co-operation and co-ordination.

We must then determine, I would add, what we mean - in each instance - by "special status" and we must ask ourselves whether any one region or province or government of Canada should be permitted a special status which is beyond that granted to any other. We must not allow ourselves to drift into a state of affairs that threatens our national existence. We must, I believe, learn how to exert our influence on the form, kind and degree of special status. At this stage, it would be premature to propose solutions to this vexing problem, but we are prepared to make every effort to find such solutions.

To have any real hope of success, the current and future discussions on change in our federal system must be based on the conviction of all concerned that our federation can and should survive.

I have been able to touch only on a few points in this statement, but I think they are the fundamental ones.

May I just add, in conclusion, that we convened this Conference not in spite of but because of our deep confidence in Confederation, in the viability of Canada, and in the ingenuity and good sense of our people. We have much to be proud of in our past and it is this conviction which sustains our confidence in our future. I do not deny our past mistakes nor do I ignore our current misunderstandings. But this awareness only heightens our concern that we move into our second century fully conscious of our joint endeavour: to make Canada the national home and the single voice of every Canadian citizen; to have this home reflect our rich diversity; and to have a federal system that works, that is adaptable to changing conditions, and that meets the desires of all Canadians.

We can accomplish this endeavour. Let us spare no effort to do so.

ADDRESS
by the
Honourable G. I. Smith
to
CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE
Toronto, Ontario
November
1967

FOR RELEASE when presented
to the Conference

CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE

Toronto, Ontario
November 27 - 30, 1967
Honourable George I. Smith,
Premier of Nova Scotia

During this year we have celebrated one hundred years of Confederation. For one hundred years we have lived together in one country. During this centennial year we have emphasized our accomplishments and we have glossed over our failures. This is what we should have done but the time has now come when we must look at ourselves critically and look to our future. There are stresses and strains in our nation that can tear us apart. Have we the vision and the faith to put aside our differences and join together in a great resolve to make of Canada a country which can embrace all people and in which each citizen can be at home whatever his origin may be?

The men who created Canada had that vision and that faith. They recognized diversity - they accepted the need of compromise and out of diversity coupled with compromise emerged a new nation.

The years have gone by and we now have more provinces around this conference table but the problems that faced the Fathers of Confederation are largely the same problems that face us today. Time and a changing philosophy of government have magnified some of the problems. Perhaps intentional or

unintentional departures from the spirit of Confederation have created problems. Perhaps all of us have been too ready to insist on our legal rights and loath to accept the fact that in a democracy, governments are designed to meet the needs of a people.

I suggest to you that we should examine our Constitution and our institutions in the light of the needs of the people of Canada. We serve Canadians whether we sit in territorial councils, provincial legislatures or in the Parliament of Canada.

I am not suggesting that our form of government must remain unchanged or that our institutions must continue as they now are but rather I am suggesting that we face squarely each problem and that we seek solutions in the light of our present needs unencumbered by the mistakes or difficulties of the past. If our Constitution does not serve the legitimate needs and aspirations of the whole or any part of Canada, let us face that fact and let us seek solutions that will meet those needs and aspirations but which will at the same time preserve and strengthen the bonds of friendship which alone can ensure the harmonious continuance of a people joined together in a Confederation.

If intentional or unintentional departures from the spirit of Confederation have created discontent, let us face those departures frankly and fully. If we have stressed the letter of the law and have ignored the spirit of Confederation,

let us with equal frankness face that fact as one of the problems that we must overcome.

I suggest to you that a return to the spirit of Confederation can overcome the difficulties that beset us today. What was that spirit? It is difficult to define but let me suggest that it was primarily a vision of a great country, spreading across a continent bound together so as to advance the interests of all. It was a spirit that recognized the difficulties but which refused to be daunted or defeated by those difficulties. It was a spirit which sent men of good will from province to province to persuade and reconcile.

The Fathers of Confederation in the light of circumstances as they existed in the 1860's gave certain responsibilities to the provinces. They gave to the provinces certain taxing powers then considered sufficient to enable the provinces to discharge their responsibilities. The increasing cost of the provincial responsibilities has outstripped the taxation capacities of the provinces. In short, the provinces have responsibilities which are beyond their fiscal capacities. The problem is aggravated further by the disparities in fiscal capacity as among the provinces.

Surely we can devise solutions to our problems if we apply to them in 1967 a spirit of compromise, based on a determination to ensure the continuance of Canada in which more than one culture can grow and flourish and in which each province will be able to discharge its constitutional responsibilities.

In our discussions let us keep in mind that the government of Canada has responsibilities that it must discharge if it is to play its full part in meeting the needs of the people of Canada.

We, in Nova Scotia, believe in a federal system of government in which the central government has a responsibility for the social and economic well-being of all the people of Canada and the strength and resources to discharge that responsibility. I say this primarily because of the fact that the wealth of Canada is unevenly distributed as among the provinces. If we are to provide a basic national standard of essential services to all the people of Canada, then we must have central government with the will and the fiscal capacity to assist those provinces which, because of reasons beyond their control, are unable to provide the services. Surely, we must agree that a Canadian wherever he resides in Canada is entitled to a certain standard of service and surely the Constitution of our federal state must recognize that principle.

This Canada, by reason of size alone, presents problems in attempting to frame a Constitution which will be so devised as to serve all its people. The problem is compounded by the great variances in natural resources as among provinces and regions and is further complicated by the ethnic diversity and uneven distribution of population. National policies, if they are to serve all the people of Canada, must be such as to give recognition, in a positive, practical and constructive manner, to

the problems created by the size of Canada, by the variance in its natural resources and by the nature of its people. A rigid national policy applied with equal force from British Columbia to Newfoundland will not often serve the needs of all Canadians. We must have flexibility in the application of national policy. In deciding on national objectives we must be aware constantly of the fact that we have diversity among people and their wants and aspirations.

While speaking of flexibility, let me say that we come to this conference with open minds. We are prepared to give the most careful and serious consideration to any proposal which holds promise of providing a method whereby we can ensure to the people of Canada today and to succeeding generations a society in which each citizen will have full opportunity to make his contribution and equal right to share in the common good.

Finally, as provinces of Canada, let us rededicate ourselves to the building of a greater Canada enriched by diversity and bound together by friendship and common resolve to create, maintain and preserve a society based on freedom, justice and opportunity for all.

Coule 701



OPENING ADDRESS BY

THE HONOURABLE DANIEL JOHNSON

PRIME MINISTER OF QUEBEC

TO THE CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE

(Translated from the French)

Toronto, Monday, November 27, 1967.

For release at noon,
Monday, November 27, 1967.

I welcome this opportunity to join the other provincial prime ministers and premiers at this conference on the Canada of tomorrow. For me it is both a great honour and a very great responsibility.

I am confident that I speak for my colleagues and my fellow-citizens from Québec in expressing our deep appreciation to Mr. Robarts, Prime Minister of Ontario, for having planned and organized this conference, and to the other provincial government leaders for having accepted his invitation.

At this meeting, probably the first of many, we have gathered merely to weigh our problems and do some exploratory work. However, judging by the keen interest it has aroused throughout the country, as evidenced by the number of leading journalists it has attracted to Toronto, I believe this conference, preliminary though it may be, is already looked upon as a major step in the evolution of modern Canada.

When Canadian Confederation was created in 1867, it was by common consent of the provinces. There were only four at the outset. They and the others which came in later with substantially the same rights and obligations thus meet in Toronto today, as originators and constituents of Canadian federalism, to examine their creation and decide where it could stand perfecting and adapting to the requirements of our time.

We know how quickly and thoroughly conditions have changed in recent years, not only here but all over the world. We can use this knowledge to advantage, taking inspiration from what has been done elsewhere, yet bearing in mind that no two countries are identical and that we alone can build the Canada in which we wish to live.

If we are to proceed with maximum clarity and effectiveness, I believe it is very important that we begin by making a sharp distinction between two categories of problems.

The first includes all problems which have no direct relationship with language or culture; in other words, those where Québec's interests coincide with those of the other provinces.

Federalism is still a valid formula for solving this kind of problem. Even if her population were culturally homogeneous, Canada is such a vast and diversified land from the geographical standpoint as to defy sound administration by a unitary government.

This means there are a number of fields over which all provinces will want to retain control, just as there are a number which Québec, as well as the other provinces, may find advantageous to put under joint control.

It does not follow that the division of powers laid down in 1867 for a largely rural country with a population of just over three million is still the one which best suits Canada. Our present constitution contains many anachronistic forms and obsolete provisions. Even more serious, because of its obscure passages and not infrequent silences on the real problems of our day, it has ceased to be a dynamic instrument for co-ordination and progress.

The Fathers of Confederation could not have foreseen the awesome technological changes which were to transform the structures of society and the rôle of governments. In drafting our fifth constitution since 1760, they were governed by the realities of their time. Now it is our turn to act on the basis of today's conditions, just as some fifty other countries have done in adopting new constitutions since the last world war ended.

By this, I do not mean we should level the structures we have so painstakingly erected during the last hundred years and rebuild from the ground up. The fact remains that the changes still required, even as they affect problems which have no direct bearing on our distinctive cultural traits, are sufficiently numerous and sweeping to call for a new constitution.

I refer in particular to the need for more orderly and institutionalized relations between our different governments, especially in economic and fiscal matters. We must have well established machinery for consultation and co-ordination so as to shield the provinces from the sudden impact of federal policy — related to, say, a Carter Report or a tariff agreement — which would upset their economic stability or industrial organization, thereby affecting their people's welfare.

In her approach to this first set of problems which imply the need to reconcile the imperatives of autonomy with those of interdependence, Québec feels at one with the other provinces; and the course she proposes is that of co-operative planning and co-ordinated action.

But Canada is not merely a federation of ten provinces. It is also the home of two linguistic and cultural communities, that is, of two nations in the sociological sense.

I know it has been more customary in the past to speak of two races. If we now prefer "nation", it is because this word has much broader significance; it is not confined to the two founding peoples, but extends to all our fellow-countrymen of various origins who participate in either of our two national cultures.

Thus, ethnic origin is much less fundamental to this concept than cultural attachment. Whatever the term used, we cannot overlook this basic fact: there are in Canada not only two languages but two distinct ways and philosophies of life; two societies, one of which has had its roots solidly implanted in North-American soil for three and a half centuries.

This gives rise to a second set of problems of a socio-cultural nature; they derive from the necessity to achieve harmonious relations between the two communities while allowing each to develop freely as befits its own genius. This is the area where the need for a new constitution is most pressing.

For while our present constitution still contains elements which are valid for organizing Canada as a partnership of ten, we are forced to conclude that much of this other two-partner Canada remains to be invented. This is probably why our country has so far been a Canada of two solitudes.

Yet it seems to me that, rather than regard our cultural duality as a divisive or isolating factor, or as a necessary evil to be contained as much as possible, we should welcome it as a historical stroke of unusual good fortune which gives Canada a second dimension and direct, close links, not only with the English-speaking world but with the more than twenty nations which share the French language and culture.

Of Canada's two cultures, the French is in obviously greater peril than the English in the North-American context.

It is basic in a country like ours that the constitution recognize the collective rights of both cultural communities. The British North America Act included a number of guarantees for the English-speaking minority in Québec, but scarcely any for French minorities in the other provinces. Thus, rather than provide equality, the constitution has tended to force French-speaking people and their way of life back inside Québec's boundaries.

To a French Canadian, leaving Québec has meant and still means giving up his cultural identity sooner or later, either for himself or for his descendants. As proof, I quote the 1961 census: only 850,000 out of 1,300,000 Canadians of French origin living outside Québec still spoke French.

That explains why our government was given a mandate to marshal every argument at its command in support of a new constitution which would establish the juridical and practical equality of our two national communities. We do not want to impose our language indiscriminately on all Canadians; but wherever their numbers warrant it, we do want French Canadians to be able to serve their country and be served by it in their own language, as full citizens.

Responsability for establishing this equality does not rest with the Québec Government alone. It is shared with us by the other provinces and the federal government.

Ontario and other provinces have recently announced concrete steps which could have great significance for French-language instruction in the schools. This is an excellent start with which I am delighted. Even so, you will forgive me for pointing out that Québec is by far the leading province in her respect for the minority culture.

Québec has always made it a point of honour to go well beyond the 1867 constitutional provisions for the language, schools, cultural and social institutions of her English-speaking population. She does not regret having done so; in fact, this is one of her most cherished traditions.

I will say, however, that this has made the difficulties experienced by French groups in the other provinces all the harder for her to bear. Anything which tends to restrict the legitimate freedoms of such groups strikes a sensitive chord in Québec, besides playing straight into the hands of those who no longer think it possible to establish equality in relations between our two national communities.

Since it is not officially party to this conference, the federal government will hear what we expect from it on some later occasion. Meanwhile, there is one point I suggest we might all start thinking about right away.

I take for granted that Canada's next constitution will proclaim the association of our two cultural communities and clearly set forth the collective rights of both. In that case, what is to prevent us from setting up a permanent body staffed by equal numbers of Canadians from each cultural community, to ensure respect for these collective rights?

At present, there is no permanent body constituted on a binational basis, nor is there any agency to bring about the equal partnership which we feel is the only organization possible for the Canada of tomorrow.

There have been worthwhile suggestions for reforming the Senate and setting up a genuine constitutional tribunal but they have never advanced beyond the talking stage. Action is now more necessary than ever.

Finally, it is self-evident that Québec, faced with these socio-cultural problems, is not a province like the others. As the heartland and mainstay of French Canada, she is in a very special situation, so much so that it is probably fair to say her special vocation would grow more exacting if the government in Ottawa were to become less binational in its organization and conduct.

We would be the first to admit that Québec is not French Canada. She has no legal responsibility for French groups settled outside her boundaries, yet hers is the only government which can speak on behalf of a French majority.

For it is only in Québec that French Canadians have the political strength which comes from numerical superiority. There alone can they provide themselves with institutions, a life pattern and an environment tailored exactly to their needs and personality.

Accordingly, there is a rôle in guaranteeing equality for the French-Canadian nation which only Québec can play. This is why she needs increased powers.

In 1867, control over education, civil law, welfare institutions and other areas stipulated in section 92 of the present constitution may well have given her sufficient power; today, she needs much more, as I stated a year ago September at the fourth meeting of the Tax Structure Committee:

Specifically, what does Québec want? As the mainstay of a nation, it wants free rein to make its own decisions affecting the growth of its citizens as human beings (i.e., education, social security and health in all respects), their economic development (i.e., the forging of any economic and financial tool deemed necessary), their cultural fulfilment (which takes in not only arts and literature, but the French language as well) and the presence abroad of the Québec community (i.e., relations with certain countries and international organizations).

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At this stage in our discussions, I wanted to tell you in broad outline, and as clearly as possible, how Québec sees the Canada of tomorrow. If I have talked at some length, it is no doubt because we can hardly expect to find simple solutions to a complex problem. At least, the solutions which appear simplest on the surface are not always those which square best with the facts.

The task we are undertaking together will be difficult, but challenging enough to stir the imagination. I thank you for the interest which you show in Québec today. For our part, we have come with open minds and receptive hearts, prepared to do our best to understand our partners' viewpoints.

Someone once said that a constitution is a product of the intellect; I believe it is also an act of faith. Personally, I am still optimistic. I am confident that this conference will be the starting point for a new Canada in which linguistic and cultural duality will no longer be a source of misunderstanding and conflict, but a factor for co-operation, mutual enrichment and assertion of our Canadian identity.

REMARQUES PAR
L'HONORABLE LOUIS-J. ROBICHAUD, C.R., P.C.
PREMIER MINISTRE DU NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK
A LA
CONFERENCE SUR LA CONFEDERATION DE DEMAIN
TORONTO - LE 27 NOVEMBRE 1967



Monsieur le Président,

Cette Conférence est d'une portée bien réelle précisément parce qu'elle n'a pas été convoquée pour entreprendre l'aspect technique d'une révision ou d'une rédaction de notre constitution.

Cette Conférence n'est pas non plus une autre parmi la pléiade de rencontres où l'on négocie quelqu'entente fiscale, ou encore quelque compromis en vue d'une répartition éventuelle des frais d'un programme conjoint.

Mais j'ai quelquefois l'impression que nous discutons très souvent, sans pour autant communiquer.

Il serait bon de rappeler, aussi, que les tendances séparatistes et isolationistes apparaissent dans diverses régions du Canada.

Elles ont plus d'une langue et plus d'une forme d'expression. Peut-être est-ce dû à ce que le Canada soit aussi vaste qu'il ne faille pas trop se surprendre à ce que certains voyagent des centaines de milles pour assister à une rencontre et, une fois rendus, "gardent leurs distances".

Cette Conférence peut donc être marquante précisément parce que c'est l'avenir de notre nation qui nous a tous convoqué.

Notre but est de communiquer, de partager nos intérêts et nos aspirations.

Et notre but, assurément, n'est pas la survivance du Canada, mais plutôt sa maturité, son accession, par l'effort de la collectivité, à son plein potentiel social et culturel.

On a déjà remarqué que certains événements ont pour effet d'en rendre d'autres inévitables. Cette réunion peut aider à rendre inévitable un fédéralisme canadien revivifié, un fédéralisme qui donnera plein jeu aux aspirations des Canadiens, tant anglophones que francophones. Ce fédéralisme offrira à tous les Canadiens une participation à l'économie de plus en plus interdépendante de notre région du Nord-Atlantique et il sera la marque de notre identité canadienne au sein de la communauté mondiale. La création du Canada fut le résultat d'une magnanime imagination politique et d'un consentement mutuel. Ces mêmes qualités sont de nouveau requises afin d'adopter avec succès les formes et l'acheminement de notre fédéralisme pour faire face aux nouvelles circonstances et conditions de notre époque. Nous devons saisir et obéir à la logique de notre histoire et de notre expérience.

C'est ce que nous essayons d'accomplir au Nouveau-Brunswick. Nous avons nos bigots. Nous avons ceux qui préfèrent se soustraire à toute collaboration avec ceux d'une autre tradition culturelle.

Mais, de telles personnes sont peu nombreuses!

Très peu nombreuses en rapport avec la collectivité. Monsieur le président, je m'hazarder à déposer le fait qu'en trois occasions successives, votre orateur, issu d'une tradition culturelle francophone, a été choisi pour diriger le gouvernement d'une province dont la grande majorité est anglophone. Je crois sincèrement que cela en dit long sur l'attitude de base et la partialité de notre population.

L'histoire de nos deux entités culturelles au Nouveau-Brunswick se résume avant 1867. L'histoire de chacun des groupes est marquée de sombres chapitres de conflits et de soupçons.

Mais le destin nous a fait partager un territoire commun. Toute la logique de notre histoire et de notre expérience nous demande de structurer une association qui permettra la pleine réalisation des traditions culturelles et des capacités humaines de toute notre population. Au cours des autres assises de cette Conférence, nous vous parlerons de l'élaboration de nos programmes d'éducation, de la création de nos services de traduction et d'entraînement linguistique, de notre utilisation des ententes culturelles et des modifications que nous apportons à la forme de nos lois et de notre gouvernement afin d'atteindre la fraternité culturelle dans notre province.

En même temps, toute cette logique nous a démontré qu'il fallait aussi adopter les structures de notre gouvernement et de notre société afin d'enrayer les disparités économiques et sociales entre les diverses régions et localités de notre province. Ces disparités, si elles demeurent non corrigées et sans frein, amoindrissent la liberté humaine, suppriment l'opportunité et frustreront le progrès économique et social.

C'est ma ferme conviction que l'expérience Néo-Brunswickoise est très pertinente dans le contexte canadien d'aujourd'hui.

(1) Nous devons élaborer de nouvelles bases et structures d'association entre les communautés francophones et anglophones du Canada. L'union politique à l'époque de la Confédération impliquait forcément l'association de deux communautés culturelles. Cartier s'est fait le champion de la Confédération (et il s'est efforcé d'apaiser les craintes de ses compatriotes) en insistant sur le fait que cette nouvelle association protégerait les précieuses traditions de la culture et de la langue française tout en permettant la plus complète des participations à cette réalité politique qu'était le Canada.

Je crois fermement que tout le Canada sera immensurablement enrichi si nous pouvons rendre cette association de nos deux cultures plus active et plus dynamique qu'auparavant.

Nous ne sommes pas d'avis qu'une province ou qu'un petit groupe de provinces s'accordent la compétence et les responsabilités de la direction d'un organisme national. Nous croyons que le parlement national, au sein duquel nous sommes tous représentés, doit se charger d'atteindre l'expression nationale de cette association de nos deux cultures canadiennes. De cette compétence relèvent aussi le mandat et le développement des organismes de communication. Sur un même parallèle, l'expression provinciale de cette association culturelle et linguistique, réalité vitale et fondamentale est chez-nous la compétence du gouvernement du Nouveau-Brunswick.

Je crois que nous ne devons pas les uns les autres nous prendre pour acquis. Je crois que tous les Canadiens, tant francophones qu'anglophones doivent se sentir chez-eux partout au Canada. Je suis d'accord avec monsieur Marcel Faribault lorsqu'il dit que les Canadiens francophones sont à la recherche de la reconnaissance de leur propre individualité et à la recherche d'occasions et d'encouragements sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres canadiens. Le Canada sera de beaucoup enrichi si nous élaborons à l'échelle nationale ces disponibilités sociales et culturelles et les structures politiques qui garantiront la culture et la langue du Canada français aussi bien que celles du Canada anglais.

Notre propre expérience provinciale nous en a appris la réalité. C'est pourquoi le gouvernement du Nouveau-Brunswick a accepté avec joie l'invitation du Premier ministre Pearson de discuter de ces réalités dans le contexte d'une loi sur les Droits de l'Homme et de d'autres énoncés constitutionnels qui pourraient éventuellement avoir pour résultat l'épanouissement et l'approfondissement de cette association canado-française et canado-anglaise.

Cette dualité culturelle et linguistique qui est à la base du canadianisme peut et doit être une source d'enrichissement et non pas une source de division et d'apauvrissement mutuel.

(2) Je dois aussi ajouter qu'en mon opinion le Canada doit faire plus afin de surmonter les inégalités économiques et sociales dans la 'Confédération de Demain'.

C'est ma ferme conviction que ces écarts sérieux et opiniâtres dans le niveau des services et la gamme des opportunités oeuvrent beaucoup pour la fragmentation du Canada, probablement beaucoup plus, tout compte fait, que les différences linguistiques et culturelles. La variété culturelle contribue à la liberté et à l'humanisme de chacun.

La destitution sociale et économique ne peut qu'amoindrir la vie.

Ces écarts sérieux qui séparent les régions du Canada en ce qui a trait aux services et aux opportunités ne peuvent que nier à des milliers de nos citoyens une participation active à la communauté canadienne.

Au Nouveau-Brunswick nous avons tenté de faire face au problème au sein de notre collectivité provinciale.

Le Canada doit faire face au problème à l'échelle nationale et plus adéquatement que par le passé. Nous devons améliorer les modalités de notre fédéralisme afin de permettre la continuité d'un gouvernement national fort qui saura en même temps être plus flexible et plus sélectif dans son action sur les différentes régions du Canada. Les gouvernements provinciaux, par contre, doivent avoir la pleine compétence de leurs responsabilités constitutionnelles, ils doivent pouvoir établir un ordre de priorité conforme à leur croissance et, disposer des ressources qui leur permettront des réaliser.

Les responsabilités gouvernementales ont beaucoup changé depuis l'époque de la Confédération. L'économie mondiale et le rôle qu'y joue le Canada ont changé au point où ils sont méconnaissables. Il ne doit donc y avoir aucune hésitation à modifier les structures et les responsabilités gouvernementales au Canada afin que notre fédéralisme reflète fidèlement les réalités de notre époque. Nous sommes certainement capables d'élaborer de meilleures structures d'interaction entre les compétences fédérales et provinciales pour obtenir un fédéralisme flexible et vraiment 'coopératif'.

Au cours des quelques prochains jours ainsi qu'à la prochaine conférence, au début de 1968, celle-là convoquée par le fédéral, nous essayerons de retourner aux sources mêmes de la nation. Nous essayons de communiquer l'un avec l'autre, d'établir une communauté d'intérêts et d'opinions afin d'en voir résulter un Canada plus vigoureux.

Nous, du Nouveau-Brunswick, croyons que la présente réalisation d'une telle communauté contribuera infiniment à la maturité et à la destinée du Canada au cours des années à venir.

27
NOT FOR RELEASE BEFORE
11:00 A.M., E. S. T.
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1967



From the Office of the Premier

OPENING STATEMENT BY
HONOURABLE ALEX B. CAMPBELL
PREMIER OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
TO THE
CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE
TORONTO, ONTARIO
NOVEMBER 27, 1967

THE HONOURABLE ALEX. B. CAMPBELL
PREMIER
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Book 7 Case KB

Prince Edward Island was a reluctant entrant into the Canadian Union in 1873, despite having hosted the first Confederation Conference in 1864. But our attitude has long since changed. We are convinced, Mr. Chairman, that the preservation of Confederation, indeed of Canada, is the essential challenge of today.

Are we a nation in name only? Often, we do not think or act as a nation. Should we reexamine our constitutional basis? If, as a first step toward unity, we need a new constitution then we should seriously examine that possibility. But even more than a consideration of the mechanics of unity, we should consider a basic statement of faith between our founding races. Such a commitment might well be included in a meaningful Bill of Rights.

Confederation in the past was necessarily an accommodation to a number of relatively simple forces. Today we are faced with the need for accommodating more complex and perplexing problems of regional economic imbalance and the desire for cultural fulfillment. Both of these concepts must be attained.

Canadian requirements, as far ahead as one can see, will necessitate a strong central government. Strength in this context means financial strength to provide a sufficiently large economic field within which to exercise political and economic influence towards national ends.

This implies certainly that the gradual erosion of Federal financial authority must be brought to an end. For though we regard a strong central government as necessary, this does not necessarily mean that we support a strong centralized government.

The centralization of government machinery in the determination of priorities and plans for eventual federal action, may be an effective means of creating a national position in the international community. But this method has proven quite ineffective as a means of correcting the regional imbalances which have developed over the years. There is often a gulf between the Federal and Provincial government on the question of what is considered to be of prime importance in the area of Provincial development. Here we must distinguish between prior consultation and joint planning. Too often consultation consists of the Federal Government informing the Provinces of its plans, after the Federal authorities have arrived at a firm position. Joint planning, with both levels of government involved in the decision making process, is necessary. Joint planning, I feel, is the method of bringing about an internal balance within Confederation.

We recognize the legitimate rights and aspirations of French Canadians for the development of their economic, social and cultural life. Our Confederation was built on equal partnership of the two founding people. This partnership, with equal rights for both groups, must now be reaffirmed and adjusted to the second century of Confederation. This principle of full cultural development should be extended to all Canada and not confined to the Province of Quebec; French speaking Canadians must have the right and opportunity for the full expression and development of their cultural aspirations, at the same time, English speaking Canadians will, I hope, respond favorably to this legitimate goal: A country in which French Canada is an equal partner in the economic, social and cultural life of the nation,

a country where there will be a real sharing in all aspects of national life between English speaking and French speaking Canadians.

With these goals before us, we can develop a nation with unique characteristics, and one potentially able to make some form of contribution to mankind generally. And is that not the only kind of special status which is valid, a special status for Canadians on the broader international scene? And it should be a special status which is derived, not from some unique accommodation to ourselves, but from the special qualities of our contribution to the advancement of mankind. Otherwise, is there a purpose for Canada's existence? I think not, and accordingly, all discussions of the goals of Confederation should be directed to this purpose.

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LIBRARY

OPENING REMARKS OF
THE HONOURABLE GURNEY EVANS,
PROVINCIAL TREASURER & MANITOBA DELEGATE
to
The Confederation for Tomorrow Conference
Toronto, November 27, 1967.

Mr. Chairman:

I wish to acknowledge the very real value which the Government of Manitoba attaches to the opportunity presented by this Conference. The new Premier of Manitoba will, I hope, join us shortly. In the meantime, we will attend with great interest the consideration of the wide range of subjects suggested in the agenda before us.

I wish now to do no more than establish the premises on which the Manitoba Government has approached the meetings.

The first premise is that we have come a very long way in a relatively short time as the life of a major nation is recorded. Canada, today, is a viable, progressive, successful and eminently fortunate nation, possessed of great established capacity and of even greater potential. Whatever the combination of forces and forms of organization responsible for our achievements to the present, much credit is owed to them.

The second premise is that, in a progressive nation, there should never be fear of public discussion of the challenges, the problems and the difficulties which must be met and resolved in the continuing progress of the country. Therefore, we presume that we are here to discuss the potential for success in our second century of progress. We expect to understand and apply the lessons of the first 100 years. The institutions and concepts which have served us well deserve such continuing attention so that they may be developed to meet the changing challenges which come before us.

A third premise we hold true is that the future of the Canadian Confederation must be determined with all eleven partners as full participants



in the decisions taken. We must assume that our deliberations here can lead to positive results in the way of information, enlightenment and indeed illumination of ideas, attitudes and viewpoints. We would not expect that final conclusions would be possible - certainly not in the circumstances of the federal partner being a non-participant.

However, continuing effective development of the widely diversified regional communities in our nation is essential. Therefore, it is wholly fitting that the provincial partners, who must carry forward the direct tasks of regional responsibility, should meet together to exchange and develop ideas and approaches.

In this regard, we believe very strongly that the Canadian federal system can only function effectively when there is a full participation by the provincial level of government in matters of regional interest and responsibility.

One has only to look at the listing of Ministerial and official intergovernmental committees which was distributed with the background papers for this Conference to appreciate the growing importance of relationships between the governments in Canada. Yet, one must question the effectiveness of these devices in moving us toward truly co-operative decisions. We need a more suitable mechanism for effective intergovernmental decision-making.

Many things now need to be decided, with full and effective partnership of both provincial and federal governments. As we strengthen the regional progress in our own country, we will better equip ourselves to meet the tasks and obligations in the wider community of nations. This was the successful theme of the Exposition in Montreal - Man and His World. We have the rich inheritance of many cultures. We can each claim for ourselves the vitality and values of the full legacy that each culture has given to



Canada. We must insist that our future be based on a re-commitment to the broadest human ideals.

Surely, we will not permit Canada to falter. We will not fail to strengthen our system of government when the opportunity has come to us so clearly. Canada's progress is, of course, wholly dependent upon her people - all of them. We enjoy the privilege and the advantage of difference. We all have the obligation to ensure that each and every Canadian feels at home everywhere in his own land. This obligation grants us the privilege of personal involvement in the progress of our country.'

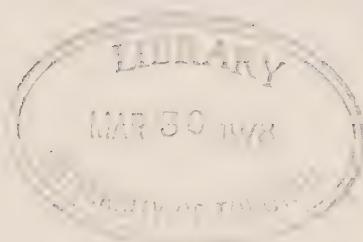
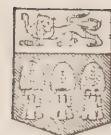
Thus, the basic premise for Manitoba is that we are joined in a welcome obligation, a rare and immense opportunity. If we are correct in our premises, then we will expect to derive a major benefit from these meetings. We would hope to make positive contributions in specific areas, as the discussion develops.

Again on behalf of the Government of Manitoba, I express my appreciation to the organizers of the Conference and particularly to the outstanding Canadian who first conceived of it. His contribution to a better understanding of and within this nation is already very substantial. This Conference should, in our view, add in major degree to that achievement.

In this centennial period, with its magnificent evidence of vitality and productive capacity in Canada, the atmosphere is clearly one of stimulus for imaginative, creative development in all areas of our country's life. This Conference is a recognition of opportunity as well as a confrontation with challenge. We know now, in the closing months of 1967, that we can believe more truly in ourselves. Therefore, the need to develop new forms or to improve upon those we now have, should come as a welcome task.



Province of Saskatchewan



CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE

November 27, 1967

PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN

OPENING STATEMENT

CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE

November 27, 1967

CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE

November 27, 1967

Mr. Chairman.

Saskatchewan welcomes this opportunity to set out its views on the future of our Confederation.

At the same time, we sincerely congratulate the Government of Ontario for the initiative, imagination and hard work it has exhibited in calling, organizing and staging this conference.

In a general way, our province joins with others in Canada in expressing the hope that the Confederation of Tomorrow will be a strong and durable one.

We would sincerely hope that it will be a confederation free of many of the strains and dissensions that have marked the latter years of our first century as a nation.

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Mr. Chairman, it would be unrealistic to predetermine what ideas and proposals will emerge from this conference.

At this time, we wish only to outline those general areas which Saskatchewan believes will be of paramount concern to all Canadians in the years ahead.

NATIONAL UNITY

Our first concern must necessarily be national unity.

There is little point in examining the alternative forms of confederation, unless all Canadians sincerely want to see our nation survive as a strong, viable force, united in fulfilling its role of providing a better life for all peoples -- both at home and abroad.

Of course, Confederation has had numerous advantages for Saskatchewan.

Nevertheless we have, in some ways since 1905, had to pay a high price for our citizenship in Canada.

Canada's tariff wall for example has year after year, been detrimental to our western economy.

Freight rates generally in our opinion have been discriminatory, and harmful to our economic interests.

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THE PRICE OF CONFEDERATION

We endured these conditions because we believed that in the long run, national unity would win out, and because we felt this was not too severe a price to pay for the privilege of Canadian citizenship.

History has proven that our people were right -- that their determination in the past to remain Canadians has reaped today a harvest of new prosperity.

No province in Canada is more determined than Saskatchewan to work with everything at our command to preserve the unity of Canada.

However, in the years ahead, we shall ask for rectification of certain economic injustices.

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EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Mr. Chairman, we believe that the second area of general concern in the future must continue to be that of equality of opportunity for every citizen of Canada.

We cannot claim in all honesty today that such equality of opportunity now exists throughout our nation.

In far too many areas of Canada, young men and women are thrown upon the labour market, uneducated for the swiftly changing, skill-demanding future.

Too many highly intelligent young citizens are working at jobs well below their potential, because the facilities to train them for better careers do not yet exist.

We believe that in the future, it will not be enough to pass from one government to the other the responsibility for eradicating these deficiencies.

Rather, all governments in Canada must come to realize that equality of opportunity will exist only when education is viewed as the responsibility of all.

We would like to see an arrangement whereby in some manner, the Federal Government could help finance education at all levels.

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REGIONAL NEEDS

Canada is a diverse and complex nation, comprised chiefly of five regions.

Saskatchewan believes that in the Confederation of Tomorrow, more attention must be paid to the various problems of these regions, not just to the more densely populated of central Canada.

New approaches will have to be taken if the problems of all regions are to be resolved, and if more progress is to be made in linking all parts of Canada.

NATIONAL HIGHWAY SYSTEM

In the Confederation of the Future, we cannot afford to continue with our present lack of a national highway system.

It is a matter of regret to Saskatchewan that after 100 years as a nation we still do not have such a system.

There is no other nation in the Western World which lacks a program of this nature.

We believe that the day must come soon when the Federal Government will have to embark on a highway program similar to that which exists in the United States -- a program which provides financial assistance to provinces in building main arterial roads.

This has special significance for Saskatchewan today, which has approximately 5% of the total population of Canada, and about 30% of the nation's total road mileage.

Our province has been compelled to carry out such a program in order to unify our people -- to provide every community with reasonable access to the rest of the province.

We believe it should be so with the Federal Government. National unity can only work when geographic access is available among all regions of Canada.

In our opinion, serious study should be given to a constitutional amendment, if necessary, to make development of such a national highway system possible.

INDIAN AFFAIRS

Another problem of increasing concern to many of our provinces is the administration of Indian affairs.

In the years ahead, this will be of increasing concern, as this race in Canada today has one of the world's highest rates of population increase.

Under our Constitution, Indian citizens are the responsibility of the Government of Canada.

At the same time, the social and economic conditions engendered by their depressed state is fast becoming Western Canada's foremost social problem.

Saskatchewan is convinced that this problem can be effectively resolved only by the joint action of both federal and provincial governments.

We urge, therefore, that a constitutional amendment be examined, which would permit the provinces to assume the administration of Indian affairs, while the federal government would continue to have financial responsibility for Indian programs.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Not all parts of Canada began their development at the same point in our history.

Therefore any national policy affecting industrial development must take this into account.

It is obvious today that restrictions on foreign investment have gained some sentiment in areas of Canada where investment funds are already plentiful, or where smaller amounts of capital are required.

In the case of Saskatchewan, however, development has come late.

Our fabulously wealthy natural resource potential can only be realized through the investment of gigantic sums of money -- sums which are not available in Canada and must be sought abroad.

In our consideration of national goals, therefore, we feel that one principle must be kept foremost:

National policy must never act against the best interest of one region for the benefit of another region.

Saskatchewan must therefore reject any national goal which would prove restrictive to the development of her resources for the benefit of her people.

FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL MACHINERY

It is our hope that from this Conference will emerge acceptable and workable proposals to improve communications between the federal and provincial governments.

Basic to this is a recognition of the roles of both the federal and provincial governments in our economy.

Unequivocally, Saskatchewan recognizes the federal government's awesome financial responsibilities.

People in Saskatchewan, and elsewhere on the prairies, feel very strongly that the federal government has a job to do in ensuring national economic growth.

The federal government must have adequate financial resources to cope with unemployment and economic recessions.

It must have sufficient funds to equalize living standards between the "have" and the "have not" provinces.

In our opinion the national government can fulfil these responsibilities only if it is able to retain adequate taxing powers.

Obviously then, provincial governments cannot constantly increase their demands on the federal treasury.

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At the same time, we believe that much can be done to improve the co-ordination of federal-provincial policies.

In the federal-provincial process, too many meetings are called on short notice, and proposals and papers covering the topics on the agenda are not forwarded sufficiently in advance. As a result, many meetings are unproductive and wasteful of time.

We would propose that submissions made well in advance of any federal-provincial conference would enable provincial governments to assess the proposals, obtain the positions and reactions of respective governments, and formulate counter or alternative proposals.

We also believe that significant travelling time could be saved through the better scheduling of meetings. Perhaps consideration should be given to the holding of several separate meetings in one period.

These are but a few of the steps that could be taken to greatly improve the entire process of communications between the two senior governments in Canada.

SPECIAL STATUS

Over the past few years, people in Western Canada have watched with some apprehension the deterioration of relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada.

To most of us, Canada without Quebec is unthinkable.

And we have understanding for the so-called quiet revolution taking place in that province.

We have real sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of our French-Canadian fellow citizens.

But Western Canadians are growing increasingly concerned that the economic demands of Quebec, if carried too far, could weaken our Confederation or even end it.

Year after year we have watched Quebec opt out of many federal programs.

Year after year we have watched all the provinces in Confederation making ever-greater financial demands on the treasury.

As we have already said, we strongly believe that the federal government must retain adequate financial resources to cope with unemployment and economic recessions.

For these reasons, Saskatchewan would be obliged to oppose any move through which the people of any province in our Confederation, were given special privileges not available to all the people of Canada.

THE CONSTITUTION

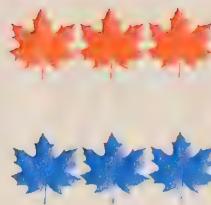
Finally, it can be said that Saskatchewan is generally in accord with the British North America Act.

We have already indicated at previous conferences that we would favor adoption of the Fulton-Favreau formula as a basis of making amendments as these may become necessary.

We do not believe, however, that a new constitution for Canada is required. We think that any adjustments that must be made can be undertaken within the framework of the existing constitution.

Saskatchewan would also favor the early patriation of the constitution, so that Canadians can amend the BNA Act without reference to the British Parliament.

Saskatchewan hopes, Mr. Chairman, that through good will and a sincere desire to resolve our problems for the benefit of all Canadians in the future, this conference will achieve historic significance.



the confederation of tomorrow conference / la conférence sur la confédération de demain

CONFEDERATION OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE

November 27 - November 30, 1967



This is not a formal agenda. It is an outline of suggested topics which could be discussed at the Conference, and which is intended for the guidance of those in attendance. The contents of this outline, the order of discussion and the times of the sessions are subject to change.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27

10:00 a.m. Address of welcome by the Hon. J. P. Robarts,
Prime Minister of Ontario.

10:15 a.m. FIRST SESSION

12:30 p.m.

Short statement by the leader of each delegation.

Theme: "The Confederation of Tomorrow"

Topic: What should the Confederation of Tomorrow
Conference accomplish?

3:00 p.m. SECOND SESSION

5:00 p.m.

Theme: "The Goals of Canadians"

Topics: 1. What are the common concerns of all
Canadians in 1967?

Some illustrations of these concerns
might be: the quality of life; linguis-
tic and cultural heritage; economic
growth and minimum national standards;
education; Canada's position in the
world.

2. What are the major obstacles to the
attainment of these goals?

2:00 p.m.
4:00 p.m.

FOURTH SESSION

Theme: "The Ways in Which the Federal System Could be Improved"

Topics: 1. What viable choices does Canada have about its form of federalism?

Among the possible choices might be included: the present scheme; a greater flexibility in the present scheme; a greater centralization; a greater decentralization; a change in the number of provinces; differing arrangements or status for one or more provinces.

2. What are the implications of each of these options? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each option?

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29

10:00 a.m. FIFTH SESSION
12:00 noon

Theme: "The Ways in Which the Federal System Could be Improved"

Topics: 1. In what areas might change be considered necessary and desirable?

For example, a Bill of Rights; the Senate; the Supreme Court; the Crown; other areas of the Constitution.

2. Assuming change is both necessary and desirable, how should it take place?

For example, by adjustment to practice only? by formal amendments to the Constitution? by a constitutional convention called to draft a new constitution?

2:00 p.m.
4:00 p.m.

SIXTH SESSION

Theme: "The Machinery and Structure of
Federal-Provincial and Interprovincial
Relationships in Canada"

- Topics:
1. What should be the aim of the machinery
and structure of these relationships?
 2. Are the existing machinery and struc-
ture of these relationships adequate?
If not, in what manner should
reforms be made?
 3. What new forms of machinery and
structure might be envisaged?

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30

10:00 a.m. SEVENTH SESSION
12:00 noon

Short statement by the leader of each delegation.

Theme: "The Second Century of Confederation"

Topic: Priorities of future conferences.



the confederation of tomorrow conference / la conférence sur la confédération de demain

CONFÉRENCE SUR LA CONFÉDÉRATION DE DEMAIN

Du 27 au 30 novembre 1967



Le programme suivant n'a rien de définitif. Il s'agit plutôt d'une liste de sujets qui pourraient servir de matière de discussion pour les délégués à la Conférence. Le contenu de ce programme, l'ordre de discussion et l'horaire des sessions sont sujets à changement.

LUNDI 27 NOVEMBRE

10h. a.m. Allocution de bienvenue par l'hon. J. P. Robarts
Premier ministre de l'Ontario

10h.15 a.m. **PREMIÈRE SESSION**

12h.30 p.m. Bref exposé par le chef de chaque délégation.

Thème: "La Confédération de demain"

Sujet: Quel est l'objectif que doit réaliser la
Confédération de demain?

3h. p.m. **DEUXIÈME SESSION**

5h. p.m. Thème: "Les objectifs du fédéralisme canadien"

Sujets: 1. Quelles sont les préoccupations communes
à tous les Canadiens en 1967?

A propos de cette question, on pourrait
considérer les aspects suivants: niveau de
vie; patrimoine linguistique et culturel;
expansion économique et normes nationales
minimales; éducation; la position du
Canada dans le monde.

2. Quels sont les obstacles principaux qui
s'opposent à la réalisation de ces objectifs?

2h. p.m. QUATRIÈME SESSION

4h. p.m. Thème: "Les moyens d'améliorer le système fédéral"

Sujets: 1. Quels sont les choix viables qui s'offrent au Canada en ce qui concerne sa forme de fédéralisme?

On pourrait considérer comme choix possibles les sujets suivants: le système actuel; le système actuel, mais doté d'une plus grande souplesse; une centralisation plus grande; une décentralisation plus grande; une augmentation ou une diminution du nombre de provinces; des stipulations différentes ou un statut différent pour une ou plusieurs provinces.

2. Quelles sont les conséquences de chacune de ces options? Quels sont les avantages et les inconvénients de chaque option?

MERCREDI 29 NOVEMBRE

10h. a.m. CINQUIÈME SESSION

12h. midi Thème: "Les moyens d'améliorer le système fédéral"

Sujets: 1. Dans quels domaines pourrait-on estimer qu'un changement soit nécessaire et souhaitable?

Par exemple, une déclaration des droits; le Sénat; la Cour suprême; la Couronne; d'autres domaines de la constitution.

2. En supposant qu'un changement s'avère nécessaire et souhaitable, comment devra-t-il être réalisé?

Par exemple, uniquement par l'adaptation en pratique? par des amendements officiels à la constitution? par une assemblée constitutionnelle convoquée pour rédiger une nouvelle constitution?

2h. p.m. SIXIÈME SESSION

4h. p.m. Thème: "Le mécanisme et la structure des relations fédérales-provinciales et interprovinciales au Canada"

Sujets:

1. Quel devrait être le but du mécanisme et de la structure de ces relations?
2. Le mécanisme et la structure actuels de ces relations sont-ils satisfaisants? Sinon, comment les réformes doivent-elles être opérées?
3. Quelles sont les nouvelles formes de mécanisme et de structure qui pourraient être envisagées?

JEUDI 30 NOVEMBRE

10h. a.m. SEPTIÈME SESSION

12h. midi Bref exposé par le chef de chaque délégation

Thème: "Le deuxième siècle de la Confédération"

Sujet: Priorités pour les conférences futures.



Mr. Chairman:

This Conference is of very real value precisely because it is not convened to undertake a technical task of constitutional review and re-drafting.

Nor are we met in yet another of the multitudinous conferences where a fiscal agreement is negotiated, or where the compromises are arranged preparatory to a new shared-cost program. Such meetings have undoubtedly and growing importance in the processes of our federalism.

But there are times when I feel that we hold so many meetings, and achieve so little communication!

Moreover, we do well to remember that separatist or isolationist tendencies show themselves in various parts of Canada.

They speak more than one language; and have more than one form of expression. Perhaps because Canada is so vast, it is not too surprising that some come many miles to a meeting and then "keep their distance"!

This Conference can have significance, therefore, because our nationhood is the theme that brings us together.

Communication is our purpose; a sharing of concerns and approaches.



And our cause - surely - is not Canada's survival, but Canada's maturity - the achievement through partnership, of Canada's terrific cultural and social potential.

It has been well said that "events have a way of making other events inevitable". This conference can help make inevitable a re-vitalized Canadian federalism a federalism which will give full play to the aspirations of both English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians; and which will be the source of Canadian distinctiveness in our increasingly inter-dependent North Atlantic economy and world society. The making of Canada was a great act of political imagination and mutual acceptance. Acceptance and imagination are again required, to adjust successfully the forms and process of our federalism to meet the circumstances and opportunities of our time. We must sense - and respond to - the logic of our history and experience.

That is what we have been trying to accomplish in New Brunswick. We have our bigots. We have those who would like to "opt-out" of any working and living relationships with those of another cultural tradition.

But such people are few! Very few in relation to the total community.

Mr. Chairman, with some diffidence I venture to record here the fact that on three successive occasions I, whose cultural roots are French, have been chosen to lead the government in a province where a sizeable majority of the citizens are English-speaking. I deeply believe that says a great deal about the basic attitudes and "openness" of our people.

The history of both cultural groups in New Brunswick stretches back many years before 1867. The history of each has its dark chapters of conflict and suspicion.

But destiny decreed that we must share a common region. And all the logic of our history and experience is building up a partnership which will give full play to the cultural traditions and human capabilities of all our people. In other sessions of this Conference you will be told how we are developing the programs of education; creating translation and language-training services, using cultural agreements; and modifying our forms of law and government to achieve cultural fraternity in our Province.

At the same time, all the logic of our history and experience showed us that we must also adjust the forms of government and the structures of society so as to overcome economic and social disparities in the regions

and communities of our Province. Unchecked and uncorrected, those disparities diminish human freedom and opportunity; they frustrate social progress and development.

It is my firm belief that our New Brunswick experience is most relevant to Canada at this time.

(1) We must develop new forms and processes of partnership between French-speaking and English-speaking communities in Canada. The political union at the time of Confederation very clearly involved a venture in partnership between two cultural communities. Cartier championed the cause of Confederation (and sought to soothe the fears of some French-Canadians) by insisting that the new partnership would protect the precious traditions of French culture and language, while at the same time giving them an opportunity to find fuller expression in the new political community of Canada.

I deeply believe that all of Canada will be immeasurably richer if we make it possible for our basic English-French cultural partnership to be made more operative, more dynamic, than ever before!

We do not feel that one Province, or a small group of provinces, should have special representation and responsibilities to direct national agencies. We believe that the national parliament, in which we are all

represented, must discharge the duty of achieving national expression for Canada's basic cultural partnership, including the development and terms of reference of communications agencies. In the same way, it is the duty of government in New Brunswick, to give provincial expression to that English-French partnership that is so important, so fundamental, a fact in our life.

I believe that we must not take each other for granted. I believe that English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians must be made to feel at home from coast to coast. I agree with the views of Marcel Faribault when he says that French Canadians seek an "acknowledgment of their own individuality"; they seek "possibilities and encouragement on a par with other Canadians". Surely Canada is far richer if we develop across the nation the social and cultural facilities - and the political forms - that will secure the language and culture of French Canada as well as of English Canada.

Our own provincial experience has taught us the truth of that. Thus the New Brunswick Government has welcomed Prime Minister Pearson's invitation to discuss these matters with reference to a Bill of Rights and other possible constitutional re-statements that might result in a deepening and extension of French-English partnership. Canada's basic dual cultural and linguistic heritage can and must be made a Canada-wide

force of enrichment; and not a force of division and mutual impoverishment.

(2) Having said that, I would also express the view that Canada must do more to overcome regional economic and social disparities in the "Confederation of Tomorrow".

It is my firm conviction that severe and persisting disparities in the levels of services and in the range of opportunities do much to fragment Canada - possibly much more, in the end, than differences of language and culture.

Cultural variety can enlarge the freedom and the humanity of every person.

Economic and social deprivation can only diminish life.

Great gaps between the regions of Canada with respect to services and opportunities can only serve to exclude many thousands of people from meaningful participation in the Canadian community.

In New Brunswick we have sought to face this issue in terms of our provincial society.

Canada must face this issue nationally, more adequately than in the past. We must improve the forms of our federalism to permit the continuance of strong national government that will at the same time,

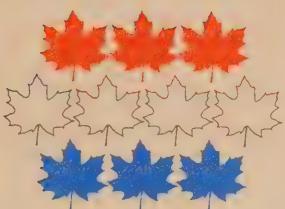
be more flexible and selective in its impact on the several regions of Canada. Provincial Governments, in turn, must be able to discharge their constitutional responsibilities. They must be able to set priorities relevant to their growth situation, and have resources to carry them out.

The responsibilities of government have changed enormously since the time of Confederation. The world economy, and Canada's role in it, have changed almost beyond all recognition. Surely we must not hesitate to adjust the structures and responsibilities of Government in Canada so that our federalism will be resonant with the realities of our time. Surely we can build better structures of inter-action between federal and provincial governments - for the sake of a more flexible and "response-able" federalism.

In the next few days, and in the federally-sponsored Conference early in 1968, we are seeking to get at the fundamental issues of our nationhood. We are trying to achieve communication with each other - a real sharing of concerns and views for the sake of a more vigorous Canada.

We in New Brunswick believe that such ventures at this time will contribute much to the maturing and fulfillment of Canada in the years ahead.

Government
Publications



the confederation of tomorrow conference
la conférence sur la confédération de demain



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